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girl is said to have gone to the stream to place a food offering for the *shompalwe*, in order to obtain fishing luck for herself and her family. She went to an out-of-the-way place, where someone was supposed to have been captured by one of these spirits, for in this way the best results are obtained. In the opinion of most people I spoke to this action branded the girl as a potential sorcerer. Some referred to her as *kalku*, others merely as *wesa lonko* (crazy or wrong-headed). Others among the local people felt that a mountain lion had killed her and that she had been devoured by lions and other animals, but the majority, including the young Mapuche with whom I was living (a Protestant missionary apprentice), were convinced that the *shompalwe* had taken all but her foot into the water to live with him. No one would look very closely for other remains. No funeral ceremony was held, even though her parents were able to identify the foot by the shoe.

It is commonly believed that the soul (*am*) is able to leave the body during sleep or illness. When it does under either circumstance, it runs the risk of being taken captive by a witch, and the body is in danger of dying. Shamans, however, are able to recall or recover the soul of a sick person, especially that of a comatose client who responds to massage, cold-shock applications, and herbal infusions (if these are able to be administered), thereby preventing death. Soul loss is a recurrent theme in stories of illness, although not the only cause of sickness and death. Intrusive black magic is also practiced by sorcerers, venom being carried by all forms of *wekufe* and by evil spirits who appear in dreams. There is little evidence of actual poisoning, however, in the sense of one person placing poison in the food or drink of an intended victim. Such practices are resorted to, although infrequently, but it is doubtful if the substance administered is really fatal.

Ancestral spirits which return to Mapucheland and are captured by *kalku*, or those which never succeed in making the transition to the halcyon spirit world and thus become contaminated before leaving earth, are by definition forces of evil. They are invisible, except insofar as they are transformed into *witranalwe* and other forms of *wekufe*, or when they return in dreams as spectral forms. They are literally bloodsuckers, and they bring ultimate death to their victims. They are ugly, except

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One night I dreamed that I could see. I had this dream for several months, then I lost it. It bothered me no longer to have this good dream. I finally went back to Boroa to see my laku [father's uncle] and found that he had died. I wanted him to explain things to me. I told another machi about my dream, and she liked it. I stayed with her for several years, but never slept with her. She taught me many things.

Gradually, I began to have power. I began dreaming again, and used to dream about my laku, the machi. The woman I was with did not like this; she thought it was dangerous. So I left her. I kept on having dreams, and I began to learn what they were about. I began to work cures on sick people, although I did not know any remedies. I made a drum which I beat at night. After this, my dreams were more powerful than ever before. I felt power, and used it to cure sick people where I stayed. I finally came to Pelehue [Toltén], where I married a widow with children—these. Now I have several children by my own semen. My wife has died. I could not save her. Maybe I am losing my power. My daughter [stepdaughter] and her husband live with me and take care of things.

I do not cure any more. I do not know much about remedies. I only cure very sick people, like the crazy boy who lives near where you and your wife stay. I made two holes in his head to let out the wekufe. I think they are still with him. He was very crazy and very sick all the time, and the doctor [Chilean] could not help him. He came to me and I cured him in a month, but he is getting sick again. He is crazy. I have no patience with plants and rubbing the body like a matrona. Men are more powerful machi than women. They are not afraid to talk to the spirits. I talk with them at night. I frequently have very good dreams.

This *machi* also said that he had been possessed only a few times, and that his greatest power lay in dreaming and communing with the *pillan*. He would visit a very sick person in his house, remain with him until he had a powerful dream, and then cure according to the dictates of the dictates of the dream—cures which often required bloodletting and surgery. He continually maintained that his power lay outside himself.

Ordinary illnesses, such as colds, light fever, broken bones, and so on, are either treated at home by a *matrona*, or by a Chilean clinician in town, both of whom charge less than a machi.

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machi. The latter is often called upon to assist at difficult births, if she is known to be especially skilled at delivery. In this role, the performance is not essentially magical, although an initial incantation is made to insure success. The *machi* is called in on these occasions to provide practical knowledge in delivery—infusion of herbs, massage, and so forth. As her reputation grows so does her clientele.

Illness is attributed to the persistence of evil forces, since the *wekufe* are always with one in any case; thus when recovery is delayed and death seems to threaten, a *machi* is called in. The young man who had the operation on his head had gone to see a Chilean doctor in town, but when his headaches and nausea did not ease he consulted the blind *machi*, whom he was certain would at least deal with the *wekufe* even though success was not assured. Their indifference to Mapuche notions of illness and their obvious inability to deal with the forces of evil have worked against Chilean doctors' influence in Mapucheland.

Supernaturally induced, illness may come from intrusion into the person of some malignant quality or object. These intrusions are associated with certain signs or symptoms, which, if not already apparent to the patient, are revealed to him by the *machi*. Dreams, omens, contacts with *witranalwe*, and so forth, all may give rise to illness. Examples of bad omens are the following: the death of a tree in an orchard, a tree flowering after bearing fruit, one's falling down and sitting on the ground, evidence of dampness under the bed, a hen crowing like a cock, and all the evidence for the presence of forces of evil mentioned already. In dreams, having one's hair cut is a sign of poverty and hardship. Being shaven, walking barefoot, falling from a tree, having teeth pulled, being arrested by the police—all these dreams presage sickness of one kind or another. These dreams are discussed by the people, and the discussion either serves to dispel fear or reinforce it to such an extent that the person becomes worried enough to consult a *machi*. Since shamanistic curing is always costly, it is not a thing which is undertaken lightly. Then, too, *machi* are not visited professionally without good reason, for they are somewhat feared. The *machi* will clarify dreams or omens and recommend herbal remedies. This is about the simplest curing technique and involves no magical

[i.e. the machi -- Analyst]

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a person dies people assume that they themselves are in grave supernatural danger, autopsy or not.

A simple method of divining the cause of death, and therefore the extent to which the survivors themselves are threatened, is to place a bowl of flour near the head of the corpse. If some of the flour is gone after the night passes, the person's spirit has eaten it, which indicates that the spirit is hungry and well and not in the hands of *kalku*. It is again a consoling notion, and much less expensive than the services of a specialist.

Machi claim that they are difficult to persuade to perform counter magic against a *kalku*. While such enterprise is entirely legitimate, it places the *machi* in the same general camp with the *kalku* and, if the people are at all suspicious of her, could ruin her reputation. People tend to confirm this claim, saying that *machi* no longer perform magic directly against sorcerers, at least not against professional sorcerers. *Machi*, therefore, content themselves and their clients with preventing death and curing illness by chasing away evil spirits, rather than by killing witches (i.e. causing their bodies to die) and releasing the captured spirits. At the death of a patient, then, a *machi* usually has no further service to offer.

Machi always operate in an atmosphere charged with danger, but they see a great difference between chasing away evil spirits sent by a *kalku* and killing the *kalku* herself. Although *machi* do not like to deal directly with *kalku*, they are not reluctant to discover them, which is much less dangerous. This is generally done in a ceremony called *kalkutun*.[1] The ceremony lasts a long

[1] I have never witnessed this ceremony, but I managed to persuade a *machi* friend to enact a modified version of it. The ceremony followed the basic pattern suggested in the vignettes above. In the darkened room, the (denied) ventriloquism was very effective. From time to time, the *machi* threw straw on the fire and, as corners of the room became lighted momentarily, threw her voice in that direction. My wife's supposed inability to produce offspring was the occasion for this ceremony. The diagnosis was *koftun*—emasculation of the husband by a woman who had borne him a child out of wedlock. The *machi* felt I knew who practiced *koftun* against me. We were told to sip from two bottles of medicine every morning and evening for the next month. After the stated period passed, my wife became pregnant. It should not be difficult to imagine the impact on the local people of this "international" power of the *machi*.

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75 time, during which the *machi* is in some danger from the *kalku*. Upon agreeing to conduct a *kalkutun*, the *machi* requests the victim's family to bring saliva, eyebrows, finger- and toenail parings, and head hairs which have been saved by them for this purpose. The *machi* is entrusted with these items for a year. After the year has passed, these objects begin to "speak" to her of the cause of death. The *machi* calls the victim's family around her to listen to these objects. Those present are able to understand only a small part of what the objects are saying. In the course of her performance, the *machi* reveals, through the objects, the *kalku* who is responsible for the victim's death, and also suggests the proper manner of killing the *kalku*. This is as far as the *machi* goes, unless she is one of the rare ones willing to undertake the supernatural murder of the witch. In any case, the family returns home armed only with the *kalku*'s general (and stereotyped) description and notice of her general whereabouts, for the *machi* does not furnish the *kalku*'s name or that of the *kalku*'s client.

It is up to the family to take further action against the witch or her client if they choose. Seizure and burning was the traditional manner in which *kalku* were disposed of in the past, but the Chilean police force has put an end to that. The witch-burning tales told by informants do not relate their own experiences, usually, but those of their fathers and grandfathers. When direct action is taken against a witch today, the family of the victim does so by hiring the services of another *kalku* to practice counter magic. However, this action has drawbacks. *Kalku* are rather prone to loyalty to one another, for one thing, and it might be difficult to find a professional witch who admits to being a powerful *kalku*. Should a *kalku* be approached and then refuse to lend assistance, the would-be client considers himself in some danger. *Kalku* are available for doing harm to ordinary people, but usually balk at combatting one of the sisterhood.

Machi performances themselves are dangerous to participants and spectators, since anyone connected with the manipulation of spirits is considered exposed to supernatural danger. There are somewhat effective safeguards that people may employ, which at least limit or reduce supernatural danger. Recently,